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AUTHOR Marshall, Nancy L.
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ABSTRACT

This study examined the role of child care in empowering low-income parents. The study, which was part of a larger evaluation of the Committee for Boston Public Housing (CBPH), compared families with children in the Washington-Beech Community Preschool (WBCP), run by CBPH, with families at the Washington-Beech Housing Development whose children did not attend WBCP. WBCP was designed to provide an environment that fosters the social, motor and cognitive development of young children. The CBPH model posits that such programs, established in response to tenant needs and including parent involvement, will foster the empowerment of parents. Thirty-nine families, with children aged 2-5 years, were interviewed. Parents of children in WBCP were compared with those in two control groups: (1) parents whose children were always cared for by a parent; and (2) parents whose children were cared for by a provider other than WBCP or a parent. Items measured were the individual's sense of self-respect, belief in collective action, and ability to use social networks. Results showed that feelings of empowerment significantly increased over the course of the year for individual WBCP parents, while members of the other groups showed essentially no change. (SH)

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Empowering Low-Income Parents: The Role of Child Care

Nancy L. Marshall

Poster session presented at the 1991 meetings of the Society for Research in Child Development

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Child care has the potential to affect not only the lives of children, but also that of their parents. The importance of the availability of child care to maternal employment is well-documented (Blau & Robins, 1986; Mason, 1987; Marshall & Marx, 1991; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983). Recently, practitioners and researchers have become interested in the ways in which child care can "empower" parents. "Empowerment" describes a process by which people gain control over their lives. It may be evidenced in the ability to use formal and informal resources (including social networks); the ability to cope with life's stresses, such as the stresses of parenting; a belief in one's ability to control one's own life; or a belief in the efficacy of collective action (Dunst, Trivette & Cornwell, 1989; Technical Development Corporation, 1990). We examined the role of child care in empowering low-income parents, as part of a larger evaluation of the Committee for Boston Public Housing (CBPH), a private non-profit organization committed to social and economic justice for low-income people.

CBPH runs the Washington-Beech Community Preschool (WBCP), which is located in a public housing development. WBCP was designed to provide an environment that fosters the social, motor and cognitive development of young children. The CBPH model posits that such programs, when they are established in response to tenant needs and include parent-involvement, will also foster the empowerment of the children's parents. To examine whether or not the WBCP meets these goals, we designed a study that compared families with children at WBCP and living in Boston Public Housing Developments with families at the Washington-Beech Housing Development whose children did not attend WBCP. We followed these families and their children throughout the school year, interviewing them in November, January and June.

Sample Selection

We used a two-stage sampling procedure. First, we examined the Boston Public Housing list of tenants at the Washington-Beech Development and the enrollment list of WBCP, and identified 79 families with a child ages 2 years 9 months to 5 years (the age limits for WBCP) and living at Washington-Beech or Archdale (the two developments in the same community as WBCP). Of these 79, one family had recently moved out of Washington-Beech, two spoke a language other than English or Spanish and could not be interviewed, and 16 families actually did not have a child between 2.9 and 5 years old. In addition, 10 families could not be contacted. If those 10 families were similar to the other families who were contacted, we would expect that at least two of them would actually not have a child between 2.9 and 5 years of age. Thus, at the end of the first stage of sampling, we had identified an estimated 58 families eligible for the study (including the 8 who could not be contacted but are presumed eligible).

For the second stage of the sampling procedure, we attempted to contact this population of 58 families, so that we could interview them, in person, in November, January and June of the same school year. Of these 58 families, 50 (86%) were contacted successfully in November and at least one more time later in the year. Of the 50 families who were contacted, 9 refused to be interviewed. Our acceptance rate was therefore 41 out of 50, or 82%. Of the 41 families who were interviewed, we were able to obtain useable information at least twice during the year from a total of 36 families. Thus our revised

acceptance rate is 72% (36 useable interviews out of 50 contacted).[1] In addition, two new families who became eligible in January were added to the sample, and an additional family was added in June, for a total sample size of 39. All told, 36 families in the final sample were interviewed in November, 34 families were interviewed in January, and 34 families were interviewed in June. However, only 28 families were interviewed all three times, 10 were interviewed twice, and one was interviewed only in June.

Sample Description

Most of the tenants interviewed were the mother of the child aged 2.9 to 5 years (hereafter referred to as the "reference child"). The tenants ranged in age from 23 to 42. The majority of the tenants (54%) are between the ages of 25 and 35. 30% are under 25 and 16% are over 35. Almost half of the sample have not finished high school (43%). 35% have a high school diploma or G.E.D., and 22% have some college, vocational training or other post-secondary education. Over half (51%) have lived in their present housing development six or more years, 46% have lived there between 1 and 5 years and 3% have lived there less than a year.

Almost two-thirds of the tenants (65%) are single parents, living only with their children. About a third (35%) are living with other adults. This includes few three-generation households, since only four of the tenants have an adult over 40 living with them. Almost half of the tenants (43%) have only one or two children living with them, about half (54%) have three or four, and one tenant has six children living with her.

Characteristics of Child Care

Six of the 39 children in the final sample received only parental care on a regular basis. However, at any one point in time, between 10 and 12 children are only in parental care (see Table 1). All told, two-thirds of the children (67%) are in some form of non-parental care at any one point in time, and three-fourths (79%) are in some form of non-parental care at some point over the course of the year.

Families with preschool-age children make various arrangements for child care, and these arrangements are subject to change over time (See Table 1). WBCP care was the most stable over time. Of the 39 families in the sample, 13 children attended WBCP at least part of the year. Seven children were enrolled in November; one of these children left (and was later placed in a public school 766 classroom for children with special needs). Three additional children enrolled between November and January, and three more enrolled

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[1] Our final sample of 36 families is 62% of the population. This is a sufficiently large proportion of the population for the results of this study to be considered fairly representative of all families at Washington-Beech with young children. However, we can not say that these results would be true for every resident, since 38% of the eligible population was not included in our analyses. Similarly, the results of this study can be generalized to other Boston housing development parents of young children, and to other low-income parents, only to the extent that those individuals and families, and their environments, are similar.

in the spring.[1] Once children entered WBCP, they tended to stay out the year: of the 10 children enrolled by January, 9 were still enrolled in June.

Nineteen of the 39 children received some form of regularly-scheduled non-parental care other than WBCP, at some time during the year, including attending other child care centers, and care by relatives, babysitters (a non-relative in the child's home), and family day care (a non-relative in the caregiver's home).

Only two of the ten children who were enrolled in other child care centers in the fall or winter were still enrolled in June. Of the eight who left, one left because the center had closed in June for the summer, and three left because the center cost too much (two of these three transferred to WBCP because they were able to get a subsidized slot for their child at WBCP).

Similarly, only three of the 14 children who were watched by a relative, babysitter or family day care provider at some point in the year were in the same "type" of care throughout the year, and one of these three was watched by different relatives at different times. At any one point in time, between four and eight are watched by relatives; and between one and four are watched by babysitters or family day care providers.

-- Table 1 about here --

Number of Hours of Child Care

Children in WBCP or another child care center spend more hours in care, and are more likely to be in full-time care than are children in other forms of non-parental care (see Table 2). This pattern is consistent with other studies of child care arrangements.

-- Table 2 about here --

Impact of Stability and Number of Hours of Care on Employment and Training

These differences in stability and the number of hours of care for the different types of child care have implications for parental employment and participation in education and training programs. WBCP care is both more stable and offers more hours of care than other care arrangements. As Table 3 shows, parents using WBCP are more likely to remain employed or in a training program than are parents using other types of care and are less likely to never be employed or in a training program. (As might be expected, parents who never used any child care were never employed.)

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[1] We only have information on 11 children in June because one WBCP child was not interviewed in June.

-- Table 3 about here --

We asked parents using child care what would happen if they lost their current care (Table 4 reports the answers given in January, which are typical of those given in November and June). The majority of parents reported they would have to quit their job or training program. WBCP parents, who were using more hours of care than are others, were more likely to say they would have to quit, presumably because they could not afford to replace that care or could not find as many hours of care as they would need. We also asked parents who were employed what they would do if they had child care they liked and could afford. The majority said they were somewhat or very likely to work more hours, more than two-thirds were somewhat or very likely to change jobs or take a second job, and almost half were somewhat or very likely to seek a promotion at their current job. Finally, every parent who never used child care was somewhat or very likely to seek employment or training if they had child care they liked and could afford.

-- Table 4 about here --

Impact on Parental Empowerment

We wanted to learn whether or not WBCP parents became more empowered as they participated in the WBCP program, and whether this increase in empowerment was greater than any increase over the year among parents not participating in WBCP. We also examined changes in the children's behavior over the year. Children and adults tend to change over time: if WBCP is influencing their development, we would expect that WBCP children and parents would show greater positive changes than would other families from similar backgrounds.[1] In these analyses, we compared parents with children in WBCP for at least two assessment points with two control groups: a) parents whose children were always cared for by a parent; b) parents whose children were cared for by a center other than WBCP or by a relative, babysitter or family day care provider at the time of one or more assessments.

Measuring Individual Empowerment

We have operationalized individual empowerment as a constellation of attitudes and behaviors that an individual can demonstrate to varying degrees. Specifically, individuals who are empowered will have:

A. A sense of control over their lives, greater self-respect and a belief in the importance of collective action.

[1] See Appendix A for an explanation of the statistical techniques used to examine changes over time in parental empowerment and children's behavior.

B. The ability to use social networks (personal relationships with family and friends) to meet their needs for both material resources and emotional support.

Feelings of Personal Empowerment

To measure the individual's feelings of personal empowerment, we created a six-item scale, which included three items from Pearlin's Mastery Scale and three items based on the preliminary interviews with tenants and FCRC staff. These items are shown in Table 5. Tenants were asked the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with each item. Items were reversed so that a high score meant greater feelings of empowerment. Their answers to the six items were summed and then divided by six to create a scale score, which we called "feelings of personal empowerment". The scale scores could range from 1 = "strongly disagree that I am empowered" to 4 = "strongly agree that I am empowered".

-- Table 5 about here --

Change over the year in feelings of personal empowerment. Table 6 shows the average scores in November and June for WBCP parents and parents in the two control groups. Because the groups differed in the proportion of children in the two age groups (two and three year-olds, and four year olds), these average scores are adjusted for the age group of the reference child. Table 6 also shows the average amount of change over the year for each individual (see Appendix A for an explanation of how this was calculated), adjusted for the age group of the reference child and for the score in November. This second adjustment was necessary because there were group differences in individuals' scores in November and these differences might have influenced the rate of change over time.

As Table 6 shows, all three groups already had moderate levels of feelings of personal empowerment in November. However, individual WBCP parents' feelings of empowerment significantly increased over the course of the year, while the other groups showed essentially no change (that is, changes in the other groups were not significantly different from zero). This rise in feelings of personal empowerment among WBCP parents is significantly greater than the changes experienced by the other two groups ($p < .10$).

This finding is confirmed by the fact that, by June, nine out of ten WBCP parents agreed that being involved with WBCP had helped them to feel more on top of things than they had felt before they got involved.

-- Table 6 about here --

Self-respect. To measure the individual's sense of self-respect, we used one item from Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale. Tenants were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement: "I wish I could have more respect for myself". The score on this item is reversed so that a high score means high self-respect and a low score means low-self-respect. As Table 6 shows, there was a tendency for parents using WBCP to have less self-respect than other parents in November, and to have higher self-respect in June, but this

change over time is not significant, nor are the group differences significant. This may be because a single item often is not as effective as a scale composed of several items in measuring all of the individual and group differences that actually exist.

Belief in collective action. To measure the individual's belief in collective action, we created a 5-item scale, with items based on the preliminary interviews with tenants and FCRC staff. These items are shown in Table 7. Tenants were asked the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with each item. Their answers to the five items were summed and then divided by five, to create a scale score, which we called "belief in collective action". The scale score ranges from 1 = "strongly disagree with collective action" to 4 = "strongly agree with collective action".

-- Table 7 about here --

As Table 6 shows, parents using WBCP and parents using other forms of child care significantly increased their belief in group empowerment over the course of the year, although this increase is not significantly different from the changes experienced by parents not using child care.

The ability to use social networks. Our model also defines empowerment as the ability to establish, and make use of, relationships with individuals who can provide both emotional support and information and concrete assistance in times of need. We asked the tenants how often they find that the people in their networks seem interested in how they're doing and encourage them when they feel discouraged, and how often they find there is no one they can tell how they're really feeling. We also asked the tenants how often, if ever, the people in their networks help them out or are good sources of information. These five items were summed and then divided by five to create a scale score that ranges from 1 = "never or almost never receive support" to 4 = "almost always or always receive support". As Table 6 shows, while there was a tendency for all parents to report greater social support in June than in November, only parents using other forms of child care showed a significant improvement in this area, and there were no significant group differences in the changes in their social support. However, in January, all parents using WBCP reported that being involved in WBCP had made them feel less isolated and had made it easier for them to get the things they need in their lives than before their child started WBCP. In June, half of the WBCP parents felt that participation had made them feel less isolated and nine out of ten felt it made it easier for them to get the things they need. These seemingly conflicting findings may reflect the fact that the first assessment of parents' support using the five-item scale was done in November, not before their children had started WBCP, so we can not actually compare support prior to using WBCP to support after using WBCP, as the parents do in their own self-assessments.

Summary

Participation in WBCP clearly contributes to significant increases in feelings of individual empowerment, above and beyond those experienced by parents not using WBCP. Parents using WBCP also report significant increases in their beliefs in collective action as do parents using other forms of child care, although these increases are not significantly different from the changes experienced by parents not using care, and may

therefore reflect factors other than participation in WBCP. Finally, while parents' reports of social support received from friends and family do not change significantly from November to June, parents using WBCP do believe that participation in WBCP has made them feel less isolated and made it easier for them to get the things they need compared to before their children were at WBCP.

Parenting and WBCP Participation

We asked tenants the extent to which they are concerned about their child's safety, education and health, about the demands of being a parent and about having arguments or conflicts with their children; their answers could range from 1 = not a concern to 4 = of extreme concern. We also asked tenants about the amount of pleasure they get from seeing their children grow and change, the meaning and purpose the children gave their lives, being included in their children's lives and from the companionship their children provide; their answers could range from 1 = no or almost no pleasure to 4 = extreme pleasure. We found that, in general, tenants experience a lot to extreme pleasure as parents, as well as some to a lot of parenting concern.

As Table 8 shows, parents whose children were not in child care actually experienced a significant decline in the pleasures of parenting that they experienced, as did parents using other forms of child care. Only parents whose children attended WBCP showed no drop in their high levels of parenting pleasure. These group differences are statistically significant. Participation in WBCP clearly protects the parent-child relationship, fostering positive feelings about parenting.

-- Table 8 about here --

Impact of WBCP on Children's Behavior

We also examined whether or not WBCP participation had an effect on the children. We asked parents to describe their children's social and mastery behaviors, using a modified version of a questionnaire developed by Martha Bronson. The Social Behavior Scale includes: Cooperative Play (two items); Sociability (one item); Uses Words, Not Physical Force to Influence (one item); Shows Hostility to Other Children (two items); Resolves Peer Problems without Adult Intervention (one item); Complies with Adult Requests (one item). The Mastery Scale includes: Successfully Completes Tasks (two items); Tries to Solve Problems on Own (one item); Tries New Activities and Tasks (one item); Uses Appropriate Task Strategies (two items); Curious About Environment (one item); Concentrates on Task without being Distracted (one item). Each of these scores can range from 1 = "the child never is like this" to 5 = "the child is always like this".

Table 9 shows the average scores on each of these measures for children at WBCP, children receiving other forms of care at some point during the year, and children only receiving parental care throughout the year. The table reports scores for two and three year olds separately from scores for four year olds. These scores are adjusted for the proportion of girls and boys in each of the age groups. The table also shows the average level of individual change on each behavior, adjusted for gender and for the initial level of the behavior in November.

-- Table 9 about here --

Two and Three Year Olds

There are no significant differences in the development of social behavior among two and three year olds. While children not at WBCP show significant increases over the year in Sociability and the ability to Use Words, Not Physical Force, their increases are not significantly different from those of children at WBCP.

There are significant group differences in the development of the ability to concentrate on a task without being distracted. WBCP children already have a relatively high level of this ability in November and show little change over the year. However, children in parental care improve significantly over the year (to the levels of WBCP children), while children in other forms of child care (who are more likely to experience changes in their care arrangements) decline significantly over the year. In other areas, WBCP children already have high levels of mastery behaviors by November and show no significant change over the year. Children in parental care sometimes start out with a tendency to lower levels of mastery, but catch up by June to other children. Children in other forms of care are usually more like WBCP children than children in parental care, except as noted above in the development of the ability to concentrate. These trends suggest that, if we had been able to assess WBCP children before they started WBCP, we might have found group differences in the rate of development. However, we were not able to do so.

Four Year Olds

Only one of the four-year-old children was not in some form of non-parental care for at least part of the year. Therefore, we can only compare WBCP children to children in other forms of care. As might be expected, four-year-olds have higher scores than two and three-year-olds on the positive social behaviors and higher scores on the ability to concentrate on a task without being distracted. However, there do not appear to be strong differences in other mastery behaviors.

Children in other forms of child care become increasingly more hostile to other children over the year, while WBCP children remain at relatively lower levels of hostility. These group differences are significant. There are no other group differences in the development of social behavior over the year.

There are no significant differences between WBCP children and children in other forms of care in the development of master skills, although WBCP children show significantly greater use of appropriate task strategies throughout the school year. This difference shows in November, and may be the result of the early months at WBCP or may reflect group differences that existed before the children started WBCP. In addition, the lack of group differences may be an artifact of the scale used, since the children were already scoring near the top of the scale on many of the items and the scale could not, therefore, reflect any growth the children might have experienced.

Summary

When we compare WBCP children to other children from similar backgrounds and living in the same environment, we see few differences. Those differences we do see generally demonstrate that WBCP fosters healthy development in young children.

Parental Satisfaction with Different Types of Care

We asked the parents to describe their regular child care arrangements in several different ways. We have chosen to illustrate the differences between the different types of care using the responses of families using WBCP in June, using other child care centers in January (many closed by June), and using a particular babysitter, relative or family day care at the latest time in the school year when that particular caregiver was used. In this way, no caregiver or care arrangement is counted twice, and parents' descriptions are based on experience rather than first impressions.

-- Table 10 about here --

As Table 10 shows, parents worry least when children are with relatives (most of whom watch the child in the child's own home). Parents using WBCP are less likely to worry about how their children are treated, how their children get along with other children or what their children are learning, than are parents using other centers.

A similar pattern is found when we ask parents how satisfied they are with the quality, cost and location of their child care arrangements. As Table 11 shows, parents are most satisfied with relatives, all of whom are caring for the child in the child's own home. WBCP parents are more satisfied with the quality and location of the care than are parents using other centers.

-- Table 11 about here --

Parental Involvement

Parent involvement is an important component of WBCP. We asked all parents using any form of non-parental care how much say they felt they had over how the center or caregiver took care of their child, whether they were satisfied with how much say they had, and whether they would like more say. Parents at WBCP are more likely to have a lot of say, to be more satisfied with how much say they have and to not feel that they need more say, than are parents using any other kind of care arrangement (see Table 12).

-- Table 12 about here --

Parental Desire to Use WBCP

Parents who were not using WBCP were asked how likely it was that they would send their child to WBCP if they could. Table 13 reports each parent's response at the latest point in time for which we have an answer. More than half of all parents are somewhat or very likely to use WBCP if given the opportunity. While parents using other centers are not likely to switch (and the two that did switch did so because they needed a subsidized slot that WBCP could offer them), more than half of parents using non-center-based care, and 70% of parents not using any child care would use WBCP if they could.

-- Table 13 about here --

Those parents who were likely to use WBCP felt that way because they wanted to go to work or to school (2 parents), they liked the quality of the program (9 parents), and it is nearby (2 parents). As one parent said: "He can get a head start on knowledge before school. This is convenient and close, and other people say that day care is good." Those parents who would not send their child to WBCP felt that way because they work hours that WBCP is not open (1 parent), they want both of their children at the same school (1 parent), they wanted their child "out of the projects" (1 parent), or they felt that the WBCP program was of poor quality (7 parents).

APPENDIX A: STATISTICAL TECHNIQUES

In the past, when we have studied development or change over time, we have sometimes examined how groups' scores change from time 1 (T1) to time 2 (T2). However, such techniques mask the growth or changes of individuals within the groups. To study individual development or change, we need to create a score that accurately reflects how much the individual has changed. With information at T1 and T2, we can subtract T1 from T2. However, this difference score is not the best measure of true change over time. With 3 data points, T1, T2 and T3, we can use regression techniques to draw a more accurate line of development over time (see Figure 1). This is the approach we used in this study.

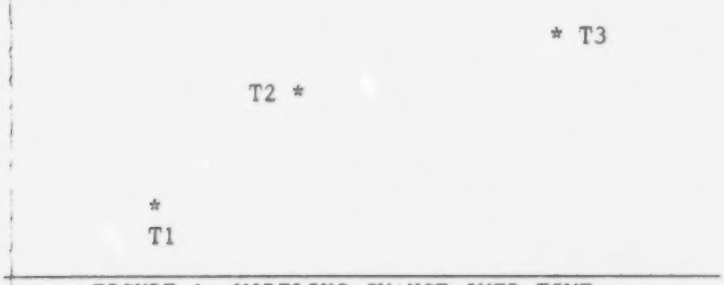

FIGURE 1: MODELING CHANGE OVER TIME

Specifically:

1) We estimated missing data. 27 families had no missing data. 4 families were missing data at T2, 5 families were missing data at T3, 3 families were missing data at T1. This missing data was estimated as the average of the other two data points for that individual.

2) We estimated the rate of development or change over time, using regressions for each individual in the family. These regressions estimate the best line to describe the three data points (see Figure 1); the slope of this line is equal to the amount of change in the variable (e.g., personal empowerment) between two points in time.

3) Using these estimates of the rate of individual development, we conducted analyses of covariance to test whether individuals in the three groups (WBCP, other care, parental care) were significantly different from each other, net of certain control variables (including initial level of a variable and, in some equations, gender of the child or age group of the child).

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Table 1: CHANGES IN TYPE OF CARE

Type of Care	November	January	June	Same Type All Year
WBCP	7	9	11	6
Other Centers	7	8	2	2
Relatives	6	4	8	2
Babysitters, Family Day Care	4	3	1	1
Only Parental Care	12	10	12	6
Total	36	34	34	17

Table 2: NUMBER OF HOURS OF CARE[1]

	WBCP	Other Centers	Relatives	Babysitters	Family Day Care
Number of families	10	8	8	5	3
Average Number of Hours per Week	34	36	16	4[2]	23
Number of Children in Care More than 30 Hrs/Week	8	6	1	1	1

[1] Because children changed arrangements throughout the year, we have chosen to illustrate the differences between the different types of care using the responses of families using WBCP in June, using other child care centers in January (since many families left before June), and using a particular babysitter, relative or family day care at the latest time in the school year when that particular caregiver was used.

[2] Plus one babysitter who watched the child overnight.

Table 3: IMPACT ON EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING: I

	WBCP	Other Types of Care	Parental Care Only
Number of families'	9	21	6
Proportion of parents who:			
remained employed/in training at all assessment points for which we have information	78%	38%	0
were sometimes employed or in a training program	11%	20%	0
never employed or in a training program	11%	43%	100%

' Nine WBCP families who were attending WBCP during at least two assessment points; 21 families for whom we have information during at least two assessment points and who were in some type of non-parental care during at least one assessment (includes 3 families who used WBCP at one assessment point and other forms of care at other times during the year); 6 families who never regularly used non-parental care.

Table 4: IMPACT ON EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING: II

	WBCP	Other Types of Care
Proportion of parents who were somewhat or very likely to:		
quit their jobs or training if they lost their child care	83% (6)	67% (6)
Work more hours	50% (6)	80% (5)
Change jobs or seek second job	67% (6)	80% (5)
Seek a promotion at current job	50% (6)	33% (6)

' Numbers in parentheses are the number of people who were asked this question in January.

Table 5: Feelings of Personal Empowerment Items

1. Some people aren't given the same chances in life as others.
2. I can do just about anything I really set my mind to.
3. I have a right to question the way things are done.
4. You can't expect things like the welfare system or public housing to change much.
5. I have little control over the things that happen to me.
6. I often feel helpless in dealing with the problems of life.

Table 7: Belief in Collective Action Items

1. I don't have much in common with other people at this development.
2. If enough people join together, we can get things done.
3. Other people have faced some of the same difficulties as I have.
4. If people work together, they can fight city hall.
5. My participation in community activities helps improve the community.

TABLE 6: CHANGES IN PARENTAL EMPOWERMENT

	Group			
	WBCP Children	Other Care	Parental Care	Group Differences
Number of Families in Analyses	9	21	6	
FEELINGS OF Personal EMPOWERMENT				
November [1]	3.3	3.3	3.0	No
June	3.7	3.4	3.1	No
Individual Change [2]	0.39*	0.05	-0.07	Yes +
SELF-RESPECT				
November	2.6	3.1	3.2	No
June	3.6	3.3	3.0	No
Individual Change	0.61	0.28	0.82	No
BELIEFS IN COLLECTIVE ACTION				
November	2.5	2.3	2.3	No
June	2.8	2.7	2.6	No
Individual Change	0.58*	0.52**	-0.25	No
SOCIAL SUPPORT				
November	3.3	3.2	3.2	No
June	3.5	3.5	3.4	No
Individual Change	0.23	0.29*	0.21	No

SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS: + = p<.10; * = p<.05; ** = p<.01.

[1] Average levels in November and June, adjusted for age group of target child (1=two and three year olds; 2=four year olds).

[2] Average individual change over the year, adjusted for age group of target child and for the initial scale score in November. If the change over the year is significantly greater than 0 (0=no change), the significance level is indicated.

TABLE 8: CHANGES IN PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS

	Group			
	WBCP Children	Other Care	Parental Care	Group Differences
Number of Families in Analyses	9	21	6	
PARENTING CONCERNS				
November [1]	2.6	2.6	2.3	No
June	2.6	2.3	2.2	No
Individual Change [2]	0.01	-0.32*	-0.18	No
POSITIVE FEELINGS ABOUT PARENTING				
November	3.5	3.6	3.0	Yes+
June	3.5	3.2	2.8	Yes*
Individual Change	0.0	-0.24*	-0.60**	Yes*

SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS: + = $p<.10$; * = $p<.05$; ** = $p<.01$.

[1] Average levels in November and June, adjusted for age group of target child (1=two and three year olds; 2=four year olds).

[2] Average individual change over the year, adjusted for age group of target child and for the initial scale score in November. If the change over the year is significantly greater than 0 (0=no change), the significance level is indicated.

TABLE 9: CHANGES IN CHILDREN'S BEHAVIOR

SOCIAL BEHAVIOR: 2 AND 3 YEAR OLDS

	WBCP Children	Other Care	Parental Care	Significant Differences? [a]
Number of Children in Sample	4	6	7	
Girls	1	2	5	
Boys	3	4	2	
COOPERATIVE PLAY				
November [b]	3.0	3.0	3.2	No
June	3.0	3.6	4.1	No [d]
Individual Change [c]	0.13	0.47	0.90	No
SOCIABILITY				
November	4.8	5.0	3.7	Marginal
June	4.9	5.0	4.6	No
Individual Change	0.32	0.36	0.50	No
USES WORDS, NOT PHYSICAL FORCE				
November	3.5	3.5	3.5	No
June	4.0	4.5	4.6	No
Individual Change	0.35	0.98	1.04	No
SHOWS HOSTILITY TO OTHER CHILDREN				
November	2.4	2.8	1.3	No
June	2.1	2.8	2.2	No
Individual Change	0.04	0.43	0.63	No
RESOLVES PEER PROBLEMS WITHOUT ADULT INTERVENTION				
November	2.7	3.5	3.5	No
June	2.8	3.3	3.1	No
Individual Change	-0.24	0.43	-0.03	No
COMPLIES WITH ADULT'S REQUESTS				
November	2.2	3.0	3.5	No
June	3.5	2.8	4.0	No
Individual Change	0.68	-0.02	0.65	No

[a] Significant differences between the groups.
[b] Average levels in November and June, adjusted for proportion of girls and boys in the group. 1=never, 2=rarely, 3=sometimes, 4=often, 5=always
[c] Average individual change over the year, adjusted for proportion of girls and boys and for the initial level of the behavior in November.
[d] While the group means appear to be different, the variation within the groups is such that the group differences overall are not significant.

MASTERY BEHAVIOR: 2 AND 3 YEAR OLDS

	WBCP Children	Other Care	Parental Care	Significant Differences? [1]
Number of Children in Sample	4	6	7	
Girls	1	2	5	
Boys	3	4	2	
SUCCESSFULLY COMPLETES TASKS				
November [2]	4.6	4.8	3.6	No
June	4.3	4.5	4.7	No
Individual Change [3]	-0.07	0.01	0.74	No
TRIES TO SOLVE PROBLEMS FIRST ON OWN				
November	4.4	4.5	3.1	No
June	4.6	4.4	3.4	No
Individual Change	0.19	0.18	0.28	No
TRIES NEW ACTIVITIES AND TASKS				
November	4.4	4.5	3.8	No
June	4.4	4.0	4.4	No
Individual Change	0.29	-0.04	1.18	No
USES APPROPRIATE TASK STRATEGIES				
November	3.1	2.8	2.8	No
June	3.5	3.5	3.3	No
Individual Change	0.92	1.15	0.56	No
CURIOUS ABOUT WHAT'S HAPPENING AROUND HIM/HER				
November	4.7	5.0	4.2	No
June	4.5	5.0	4.8	No
Individual Change	-0.20	0.09	0.46	No
CONCENTRATES ON TASK WITHOUT BEING DISTRACTED				
November	3.8	3.5	2.8	No
June	3.5	2.8	3.8	No
Individual Change	-0.08	-0.75	0.64	Yes *

[1] Significant differences between the groups.

[2] Average levels in November and June, adjusted for proportion of girls and boys in the group. 1=never, 2=rarely, 3=sometimes, 4=often, 5=always

[3] Average individual change over the year, adjusted for proportion of girls and boys and for the initial level of the behavior in November.

SOCIAL BEHAVIOR: 4 YEAR OLDS

	WBCP Children	Other Care	Parental Care	Significant Differences? [1]
Number of Children in Sample	6	15	1	
Girls	2	4	0	
Boys	4	11	1	
COOPERATIVE PLAY				
November [2]	3.8	3.4		No
June	3.7	3.8		No
Individual Change [3]	0.02	0.30		No
SOCIABILITY				
November	4.8	4.3		No
June	4.4	4.6		No
Individual Change	0.10	0.20		No
USES WORDS, NOT PHYSICAL FORCE				
November	5.0	3.7		No
June	4.4	4.2		No
Individual Change	0.06	0.18		No
SHOWS HOSTILITY TO OTHER CHILDREN				
November	2.3	1.6		No
June	1.9	2.5		No
Individual Change	-0.37	1.54		Yes *
RESOLVES PEER PROBLEMS WITHOUT ADULT INTERVENTION				
November	3.5	3.2		No
June	4.1	3.4		No
Individual Change	0.70	0.0		No
COMPLIES WITH ADULT'S REQUESTS				
November	3.6	3.3		No
June	4.2	3.4		No
Individual Change	0.72	0.03		No

[1] Significant differences between the groups.

[2] Average levels in November and June, adjusted for proportion of girls and boys in the group. 1=never, 2=rarely, 3=sometimes, 4=often, 5=always

[3] Average individual change over the year, adjusted for proportion of girls and boys and for the initial level of the behavior in November.

MASTERY BEHAVIOR: 4 YEAR OLDS

	WBCP Children	Other Care	Parental Care	Significant Differences? [1]
Number of Children in Sample	6	15	1	
Girls	2	4	0	
Boys	4	11	1	
SUCCESSFULLY COMPLETES TASKS				
November [2]	4.7	4.0		No
June	4.5	4.5		No
Individual Change [3]	0.17	0.16		No
TRIES TO SOLVE PROBLEMS FIRST ON OWN				
November	4.0	3.7		No
June	3.6	4.0		No
Individual Change	0.23	0.24		No
TRIES NEW ACTIVITIES AND TASKS				
November	4.2	4.1		No
June	4.6	4.2		No
Individual Change	0.34	0.09		No
USES APPROPRIATE TASK STRATEGIES				
November	3.7	2.9		Marginal
June	3.4	2.9		Marginal
Individual Change	-0.04	-0.13		No
CURIOUS ABOUT WHAT'S HAPPENING AROUND HIM/HER				
November	4.9	4.1		No
June	4.6	4.4		No
Individual Change	-0.19	0.06		No
CONCENTRATES ON TASK WITHOUT BEING DISTRACTED				
November	4.3	3.6		No
June	4.4	3.7		No
Individual Change	0.35	-0.25		No

[1] Significant differences between the groups.

[2] Average levels in November and June, adjusted for proportion of girls and boys in the group. 1=never, 2=rarely, 3=sometimes, 4=often, 5=always

[3] Average individual change over the year, adjusted for proportion of girls and boys and for the initial level of the behavior in November.

Table 10: PARENTAL CONCERNS WITH CARE ARRANGEMENTS

While this center/person is watching your child, how often do you worry about:

	WBCP	Other Centers	Relatives	Family Day Care and Babysitters
1. Your child's physical safety				
Never/almost never	50%	75%	75%	63%
Sometimes	20%	0	25%	13%
Often/Always	30%	25%	0	25%
2. How the caregiver(s) treats your child				
Never/almost never	60%	25%	88%	63%
Sometimes	10%	25%	13%	25%
Often/Always	20%	50%	0	13%
3. How your child gets along with other children while there				
Never/almost never	50%	25%	75%	50%
Sometimes	30%	38%	13%	25%
Often/Always	20%	38%	0	25%
4. Whether the caregiver/ center is helping your child develop new skills				
Never/almost never	70%	25%	75%	38%
Sometimes	0	38%	13%	13%
Often/Always	30%	38%	0	38%
Number of families	10	8	8	8

Table 11: PARENTAL SATISFACTION WITH CARE ARRANGEMENTS

How satisfied are you with:

	WBCP	Other Centers	Relatives	Family Day Care and Babysitters
1. How much your child is learning				
Very satisfied	90%	50%	67%	83%
Somewhat satisfied	10%	50%	17%	0
Dissatisfied	0	0	0	0
2. The location				
Very satisfied	90%	75%	100%	83%
Somewhat satisfied	0	25%	0	17%
Dissatisfied	10%	0	0	0
3. The cost				
Very satisfied	80%	88%	100%	100%
Somewhat satisfied	10%	13%	0	0
Dissatisfied	10%	0	0	0
4. How caregiver(s) treat your child				
Very satisfied	100%	63%	67%	67%
Somewhat satisfied	0	38%	17%	17%
Dissatisfied	0	0	17%	0
5. Your child's chance to learn about other cultures and people				
Very satisfied	100%	75%	83%	33%
Somewhat satisfied	0	25%	17%	50%
Dissatisfied	0	0	0	0
6. Overall, how the caregiver takes care of your child				
Very satisfied	100%	75%	83%	100%
Somewhat satisfied	0	25%	0	0
Dissatisfied	0	0	17%	0
Number of families Answering	10	8	6	6

Table 12: COMPARISONS OF SAY OVER CARE

	WBCP	Other Centers	Relatives	Family Day Care and Babysitters
Number of families	10	8	8	8
How much say do you feel you have over how the center/caregiver takes care of your child?				
None or almost none	0	13%	25%	13%
A little say	0	0	0	0
Some say	20%	38%	13%	25%
A lot of say	80%	40%	63%	50%
Would you like more say?	10%	38%	13%	25%
How satisfied are you with how much say you have over how the center/caregiver takes care of your child?				
Very satisfied	80%	50%	67%	50%
Somewhat satisfied	10%	38%	17%	33%
Dissatisfied	10%	13%	17%	13%

Table 13: PARENTAL DESIRE TO USE WBCP

	Type of Child Care Used at Time Question Answered			
	Other Center	Non-center Care	Parental Care Only	Total Percent
Very likely	1'	5	7	46%
Somewhat Likely	1'	2	0	11%
Unlikely	4	5	3	43%

' Transferred from this center to WBCP in January or June.